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Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 219517 TOSEC 260033

EXDIS, FOR THE SECRETARY THROUGH HABIB FROM HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, CY, TU, GR

SUBJECT: PRINCIPLES OF A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT

1. TO FACILITATE YOUR POSSIBLE DISCUSSIONS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WITH THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMANS, WE ARE PROVIDING YOU WITH ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND ON OUR LATEST DRAFT PRINCIPLES FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT AND A COMPARISON OF THESE PRINCIPLES WITH THE SET THAT YOU ENUNCIATED IN YOUR SEPTEMBER 1975 SPEECH TO THE UNGA.

2. THE MODIFIED PRINCIPLES OF A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT WHICH YOU DISCUSSED WITH SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM ON SEPTEMBER 2 WERE FORMULATED FOLLOWING YOUR MAY 20 OSLO DISCUSSION WITH DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER VON DER STOEL. IN THAT CONVERSATION YOU SUGGESTED A JOINT US-EC-9 CYPRUS PROPOSAL, POSSIBLY BASED ON A SET OF AGREED PRINCIPLES. VON DER STOEL RESPONDED POSITIVELY AND INDICATED THAT THE EC-9 COULD ATTEMPT TO FORMULATE SUCH A SET OF PRINCIPLES. WE SAID WE WOULD DO THE SAME.
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3. OUR MODIFIED PRINCIPLES WERE REFINEMENTS OF THE PRINCIPLES YOU ENUNCIATED BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 22, 1975. OUR REFINEMENTS WERE AIMED AT MAKING THE PRINCIPLES LESS OFFENSIVE TO THE TURKS AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE MEAGER EVOLUTION THERE HAD BEEN IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION SINCE SEPTEMBER 1975.

4. THE EC-9 APPARENTLY DID NOT PURSUE THE FORMULATION OF A SET OF PRINCIPLES OF THEIR OWN, AND NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE ON OUR PART TO CIRCULATE OUR MODIFIED PRINCIPLES AMONG THE EC-9 COUNTRIES.

5. A COMPARISON OF THE LATEST DRAFT PRINCIPLES TO THOSE OF SEPTEMBER 22, 1975 FOLLOWS:

--1. THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE ALL ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WITH A VIEW TO ARRIVING AT A PACKAGE ARRANGEMENT WHICH PRESERVES THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS.

COMMENT: THE SEPTEMBER 22 STATEMENT WAS LIMITED TO A CALL FOR A SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD PRESERVE THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS. THIS REVISED PRINCIPLE WOULD FORMALIZE THE CONCEPT OF A PACKAGE ARRANGEMENT. ALTHOUGH EACH SIDE HAS AGREED TO THIS APPROACH PREVIOUSLY, THE CYPRUS DIALOGUE HAS BEEN BROKEN OFF FOR SO LONG THAT A RESTATEMENT OF THIS FUNDAMENTAL GOAL WOULD BE HELPFUL.

--2. THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE A TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS AND SELF-RESPECT OF THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES, RECOGNIZING THAT THE PRESENT DIVIDING LINES MUST BE ADJUSTED TO REDUCE, BY SOME MEASURE, THE AREA CURRENTLY CONTROLLED BY THE TURKISH SIDE AND PROVIDE FOR THE RETURN OF A SPECIFIED NUMBER OF REFUGEES.

COMMENT: THIS MODIFIED PRINCIPLE EXPANDS ON THE THIRD OF THE SEPTEMBER 22 PRINCIPLES WHICH SPOKE ONLY OF THE ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS OF THE GREEK-CYPRIOT COMMUNITY AND ITS

SELF-RESPECT. IT CALLS ON THE PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION AS THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS -- A KEY GREEK DEMAND. IT ELABORATES ON THE ORIGINAL STIPULATION THAT THE PRESENT DIVIDING LINES CANNOT REMAIN PERMANENT BY SPECIFICALLY CALLING FOR A REDUCTION, BY SOME MEASURE, OF THE TURKISH ZONE. IT ALSO IS RESPONSIVE TO GREEK CONCERNS ABOUT REFUGEE RETURN WHILE RETAINING FLEXIBILITY ON THE ACTUAL NUMBERS.

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--3. WITH THE COMPLETION OF MUTUALLY AGREED BOUNDARY RECTIFICATIONS, THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL SYSTEM ON A BIZONAL BASIS, WITH RELATIVELY AUTONOMOUS ZONES AND A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD PROVIDE THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE TWO COMMUNITIES CAN LIVE IN FREEDOM AND HAVE A LARGE VOICE IN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.

COMMENT: THIS ENLARGES ON THE SECOND SEPTEMBER 22 PRINCIPLE WHICH SOUGHT TO ENSURE THAT BOTH COMMUNITIES COULD L;VE IN FREEDOM AND HAVE A LARGE VOICE IN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. IT WOULD SPECIFICALLY COMMIT THE PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS -- ONCE BOUNDARY RECTIFICATIONS HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED. MORE IMPORTANTLY FOR THE TURKS, IT FORMALIZES FOR THE FIRST TIME THE BIZONAL NATURE OF A FINAL ARRANGEMENT AND SPEAKS OF RELATIVELY AUTONOMOUS ZONES. SUCH LANGUAGE COULD PROVE TO BE OF SUFFICIENT INCENTIVE TO GET THE TURKS TO AGREE TO THE SECOND PRINCIPLE ABOVE.

--4. THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO DISCUSS THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH PERSONS CAN BE RESETTLED IN SAFETY, AND CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH FREE CIRCULATION OF PERSONS ON THE ISLAND MAY BE ASSURED.

COMMENT: THIS PRINCIPLE ATTEMPTS TO BE RESPONSIVE TO A GREEK DESIRE TO MAINTAIN OR ENLARGE ITS PRESENCE IN THE NORTH AS WELL AS TO GUARANTEE FREE CIRCULATION OF ALL CYPRIOTS THROUGHOUT THE ISLAND. IT MAY WELL BE A NON-STARTER WITH THE TURKS, BUT THE LANGUAGE ONLY COMMITS THE PARTIES TO "DISCUSS CONDITIONS" UNDER WHICH THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED.

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--5. THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES OTHER THAN THOSE PRESENT UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

COMMENT: THIS IS ESSENTIALLY IDENTICAL TO THE SEPTEMBER 22 PRINCIPLE ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES.
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